PLOWING UNDER THE FARMERS: GORDON ROTH

THE Nation

September 11, 1954
20¢

Britain and Our H-bomb Policy

by P. M. S. Blackett

Failure of the Citizen? — *H. H. Wilson*

Iran's Fabulous Oil — *A. Kessel*

Selected New Books — *A New Feature*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Letters

Letter from Japan

Dear Sirs: I am a reader of your magazine. It is so nice and only magazine which always brings me interesting articles. It is a light in dark sea for one who is sailing without compass and alone.

I think you already noticed the fearful news which arrived across the rolling wave of Pacific Ocean. People who release a demon should be able to control him and should try to turn his devilish energy into usage for welfare of us human beings.

In such narrow land of Japan, as you probably know, we cannot raise much livestock. Naturally we rely on the maritime products as the source of albumen which is essential to maintain people's health. But the latest series of atomic and H-bomb tests have turned the fishes unfitted as food by the radio activity, which meant the loss of supply-source of albumen for us and utter loss of the chance for maritime industry workers making their living. In fact many of them even suffered direct physical sufferage by the radio activity even though they were out of the area informed to be dangerous by the American military authorities. We do not think they have right to make use of the public sea for their own selfish purpose. Nowadays our people are making nation-wide movement to forbid any further use and test of atomic bomb. I would like to hear your sentiments for this affair. My address is c/o University Club, Kanda, Tokyo. YUKIO ODA

Tokyo, Japan

Tributes to Vito Marcantonio

Dear Sirs: What now seems a million light-years ago, when we were both "young and easy," Vito Marcantonio and I served our apprenticeships in the law office in which Fiorello H. LaGuardia was a partner. That was before the Little Flower had become mayor of New York, and when he was still known as the major. To one so different from them in temperament this pair—the major and the corporal's guard, I used to call them—was an endless source of astonishment and wonder. Their energies, their fire, their restlessness, their periodic eruptions imparted a volcanic quality to their surroundings. It was never quiet and nothing was ever still when the major or Marc were around. The older man, after a term as president of the Board of Aldermen, was then in Congress and had established himself in the public mind; the younger was still a neophyte, worshipful, emulating, and determined.

That was during the early Mussolini era, and I remember how confused Marc was politically. Like that of his boss and mentor, his heart was with the little people, especially those of his own race, but he did not understand the nature of fascism or the menace of the Italian dictator. He resented deeply the second-class role that had been assigned to the people of his race in America, and, like most Italian-Americans, he was proud of the place in the sun that Italy was achieving. In endless discussions, at lunch, after hours and too often while we should have been working, these problems were examined and argued, frequently with a stormy passion that was so congenial to his nature.

At the end of our apprenticeship our paths diverged, he to go into politics and I to continue the less turbulent career of lawyering; and, though I met him but infrequently thereafter, I never lost sight of him. He went into Congress, became a political force and a public figure. It was no more possible to lose sight of him than of the Little Flower; even if there were nothing more, their showmanship would have challenged attention.

But there was more, much more. Each man was a bundle of impulses, contradictions, and ambitions; each had in him something of the mountebank, the conjurer, the intriguer. But underneath there was in each a surprising inner consistency, a desire to improve the lot of his fellows, the true democratic passion. In the midst of the welter of personal feelings and drives, that passion was always at work. The troubles of the little people were their troubles; in legions they came to find solace for their pains and help for their needs; no two men ever gave themselves and their substance so unsparingly to the poor, the injured and the disinherited; and no two men ever burnt themselves out so fiercely fighting their wrongs. Wrong-headed and pig-headed they often were, but they could never close their ears and harden their hearts to the cries of the lowly.

In return the little people gave them their admiration and their love. This is a tribute that few public men receive in any generation. Not all the sneers of the sophisticates nor all the venom of his enemies can blot out the esteem and affection the little people of Harlem, the district he served and lived in, felt for Marc. Colored, white, Jew, Gentile, Puerto Rican, Italian, they mourned his death; black-bordered placards sprouted in their store windows; thousands of them paid their respects at his bier; and, as the funeral procession made its way to his resting place, they waved, many of them weeping, from the streets, from the shops, from the hallways and from their tenement windows, "Good-by, Marc."

Good-by, Marc. I too salute you.

New York DAVID L. WEISSMAN

Dear Sirs: In the forenoon of August 9, in a pouring rain, a man in a hurry fell on the sidewalk at the edge of City Hall Park in New York City. The brief case in his hand slithered past his upturned feet and into the gutter opposite the towering Woolworth building across Broadway. Vito Marcantonio was dead.

The strident cries of hate and calumny from those who feared and opposed him have ceased. These confused thinkers breathe more easily in the knowledge that a tired heart and death have eliminated a leader whom they chose to term a "dangerous radical." It is a tragic commentary on the present-day American scene that this man, a Roman Catholic from birth, who wore a simple cross around his neck at death, was denied a Roman Catholic burial by the hierarchy of his church.

Only those of us who fought on the firing line with this man in recent years seemed aware that he eschewed foreign "isms" at every turn, and that his life epitomized the true meaning of the word "democrat." In scorn, his enemies called him "Communist" or "fellow-traveler" because he fought our present foreign policy, inaugurated after the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. These enemies ignored the fact that, on the record to date, this foreign policy is nearer to disaster than to success. Marcantonio, like Emerson, did not wish to apologize but to live.

"The years prove what the days never know." But it is too late now for Marcantonio to witness the outcome of the battle he waged against the cold war and for coexistence in a world forever at peace. It has been hard to find good men to save cities since the days of Sodom and Gomorrah. The men to save nations or a world must needs be *very* good. But the lives of men who play their cards from principle hold a following after death. The enemies of Marcantonio should recall that the spirit of a good man, when it is lifted up by death for all to see, has the power to draw men to its way of life.

So—good-by, Marc. We who fought beside you, and whose ideals are the same for the world you left behind, are better off for having known and loved you.

Lawrenceville, N. J. JAMES IMBRIE

Must Reading!

Waldo Frank reviews the transcript of the Oppenheimer case in a sensational article to appear in the September 25 issue.

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Our Bankrupt Foreign Policy

WITH the killing of E. D. C. by the French National Assembly on August 30, the bankruptcy of American foreign policy is revealed in a new and appalling form. Here was a terrific defeat for the United States and no American renders a service to his country who tries to minimize it. Howard K. Smith, one of the few independent-minded commentators left on the air, said on the eve of the Assembly's final decision: "The world after this debate is going to be different than what it was before." Here at home the *Wall Street Journal,* in contrast to certain more liberal organs of opinion, showed the same courage in calling a spade a spade:

> . . . E. D. C. was . . . a debatable idea, having its defects and dangers as well as it promises. And its promises always depended on its having the wholehearted support of the peoples of Europe; without that a technical approval would have been meaningless.
>
> It has been plain for months—plain, that is, to anyone who would look—that the French people were not prepared to give E. D. C. that support. . . . So for our State Department to act surprised, as if France had suddenly reversed herself, is either pretense or blindness.

But what the same newspaper called Washington's "singularly immature mood, compounded of one-tenth reasonable regret, nine-tenths pique, and not much thought" was soon replaced by an equally unreasonable mood of reassurance. At Des Moines President Eisenhower conceded that the French rejection of E. D. C. was a "major setback" in the battle against international communism but he added that "the free world was still far stronger than the countries embraced by the Iron Curtain." In the light of Mr. Blackett's article elsewhere in this issue, it is not all certain that the West does enjoy this preponderance of strength. But even if it does, one is entitled to ask of what use is the West's military power so long as it remains at the service of a foreign policy which is able to collect only diplomatic disasters. Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgium's foreign minister, served truth better when he said that the defeat of E. D. C. was a "gigantic victory for Soviet diplomacy which has recently reaped one success after another." No one has worked harder for European unity than Mr. Spaak; therefore his opinion that "the rejection of the treaty is also a blow to European integration and perhaps even to the European Coal and Steel Community, already ratified and functioning," must be given great weight.

Readers of *The Nation* cannot complain of having been denied the truth. For more than three years J. Alvarez del Vayo, foreign editor, writing from various European capitals and from U. N. headquarters in New York, argued repeatedly that America's foreign policy was leading inevitably to diplomatic defeat and American isolation. Anticipating the attitude of both Mendès-France and the French National Assembly on E. D. C., he warned against "the present paralysis of American foreign policy, which has brought this powerful country to a situation where it can neither make war nor make peace."

ANALYZING the causes of the débâcle in the New York *Times* of August 29, James Reston wrote:

> In short, there is a strong feeling in the capital now that in this case, as in China, the United States committed itself to objectives beyond its means to achieve and, having thus committed itself, did not use what means it had to pursue its objective.

This is true but the real cause of American failure goes deeper than that. For years now an anti-Communist hysteria which has seized White House, Congress, State Department, radio, and press alike, has reduced to nil our freedom of movement and initiative in world affairs. It has become practically impossible for any official personage in Washington to have an independent thought on foreign policy without becoming suspect. When our Secretary of State goes to Geneva—as did Mr. Dulles—in mortal fear of having his picture taken together with Chou En-lai because of the uproar that might be caused in Congress, who could in fairness have expected him to do a good job as a negotiator? Our foreign policy is caught in a cobweb of stupid smears and suspicions created by anti-Communist propaganda. Everyone familiar with the Washington scene knows of the inhibitions under which all ranks of government service are operating, particularly in the State Department. A realistic report on the French attitude toward E. D. C. any time during the past year would have been greeted as a Moscow-inspired fulmination. A State Department official who, taking cognizance of the Scandinavian foreign

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ministers' recently announced support of the admission of Peking to the U. N., suggested that perhaps it was time for the United States to prepare a shift in Washington's position, would risk sharing the fate of Owen Lattimore. Today our foreign service officials are often afraid to report the truth.

The Southeast Asia adventure, on which discussions started this week in Manila, is likely to prove no more fruitful than E. D. C. We have ignored Nehru's warnings just as we ignored Edouard Herriot's warnings on the European treaty. The attempt to build an effective Asian military alliance against the will of the most important Asian countries is as futile as the attempt to build a European army, including Bonn, against the will of France.

IF the collapse of E. D. C. was easy to predict, it is not much more difficult to foresee the tremendous opposition which will be aroused throughout non-Communist Europe by any American attempt to rearm Germany directly. The mere announcement of the Adenauer-Wiley meeting last week aroused the fury even of many French E. D. C. supporters. Six former French prime ministers, all E. D. C. partisans, signed a declaration opposing the German proposals.

Already this country's "deal" with Fascist Spain has cost the sympathy of millions of people throughout the world. A bilateral pact with Germany will make us no more popular. It would mean the final blow-up of the Western alliance. It would leave us in a position where our only allies were the remaining reactionary regimes of

"Anyone got a Paddle?"

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Europe—a curious position for a country purportedly conducting a crusade for democracy.

What, then, is the alternative? It lies in renouncing forever what Aneurin Bevan, visiting in Tokyo, called the "H-bomb arbitration of world affairs" in favor of a realistic policy, orientated towards negotiation. (Mr. Bevan the politician, it may be said in passing, comes to the same conclusion as Mr. Blackett the scientist.) Once more we must explore the possibilities of arriving at an agreement with Russia on Germany and at long last we must cease our absurd veto of Communist China's admission to the United Nations. Negotiation that does not imply surrender, negotiation "from intelligence" rather than "from strength," is what is needed. What good is strength that leads not to the roll-back of the Eastern world but to the roll-back of Washington towards repeated diplomatic catastrophes? The march of events makes more compelling than ever another attempt at a Big Four meeting.

"Merits Severe Criticism"

THE "McArmy" report was destined to be a hoax. By the wrong methods, the wrong committee was assigned to investigate the wrong set of charges filed by the wrong accusers. From such confusion no light could issue. As might be expected, the committee has labored mightily to produce four mousy reports. The New York *Daily News* sourly observed: "Four soft, wet reports fell with four soft, wet thuds."

The anticlimax was inevitable. Who on the committee ever questioned McCarthy's objectives or, for that matter, questions them today? The thirty-six-day TV wonder show was touched off by a relatively trivial incident. Cohn was a nuisance, visible and irritating; he invited destruction like a noisy fly on a windowpane. But beyond the windowpane were great issues which the committee members failed to see. Their remarkable insensitivity to matters of moment is reflected in the strange conclusion, implicit in all four reports, that since everyone was lying, there was no point in trying to determine the truth. Preoccupied with trivia, the committee ducked its responsibilities by gently slapping all wrists, with only minor variations in partisan emphasis. Every harsh word used by majority and minority to condemn Secretary Stevens for "weakness" and "irresponsibility" does double for the committee members. For if he failed to meet his responsibilities, by the same token they have failed to meet theirs, and with less excuse.

In the hearings out of which the inquiry arose, McCarthy had laid down a series of basic challenges to the democratic process; defiance of well-established constitutional principles had been coupled with an open flouting of the Senate, the executive, and the electorate. In his mad bid for power, he had broken every rule of the game. To mistake his intention, under the circumstances, is tantamount to confessing a lack of understanding or even of sympathy with rules, procedures, and usages that make democracy possible. There were moments during the hearings when the three Democratic members appeared to be troubled by vague intimations of the true issues. But they never saw them and they have not seen them yet. For example, the minority report treats as "collateral" such issues as whether the principle of judicial immunity should apply to loyalty boards, McCarthy's treatment of witnesses, and the vital questions at stake in the famous two-and-one-quarter page purloined document. If these questions were "collateral," what were the hearings about? Millions of Americans must have sensed that their television screens were mirroring something evil and dangerous. If today they understand something of the nature of this danger, it is a tribute to their shrewdness as observers and not to any guidance or clarification provided by this committee.

Sadly as the seven Senators have let us down, some solace is still to be found in the reports. McCarthy has not been stopped but he has been slowed down and given a traffic ticket for speeding. He now moves from the traffic court to the domestic relations court where Senator Flanders and others seek separate maintenance if not divorce. In this court, before Senator Watkins, he may yet get his come-uppance but here, too, it will be for the wrong reasons. Joe is now about to be branded "uncouth" and "no gentleman" but on this we thought everyone agreed, Joe included.

The Shape of Things

Mr. Dulles and the Spanish Armada

In planning for the SEATO conference which opened in Manila on September 6, Mr. Dulles has followed his usual practice of attempting to align this country and as many of its allies as he can muster in defense of a line or position. Like so many line-drawers and dike-builders, Mr. Dulles lacks imagination. One wonders if he ever stops to think what his agile opponents are likely to be doing while he is so busily engaged, eager-beaver style, in constructing dams, dikes, and alliances. There is, for example, much evidence to indicate that the Chinese Communists are concentrating their long range attention not on Southeast Asia but on India and Japan, and that their weapons will be economic, not military. If this trend holds, then the elaborate dike-building in Manila will have the effect of hemming us in while affording the Communists the maximum freedom for maneuver. On this score the *Manchester Guardian* offers a shrewd comment. "The leaders of the Chinese state nearly all

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became military men in the years of the Civil War and perfected some peculiarly Chinese methods of conducting a struggle. One of their rules is to avoid head-on collisions. They take stock of the defenses built by their opponents—and then strike at something different. We must not underrate their nimbleness. The machinery of American foreign policy, confronted by them, looks sometimes a little like the Spanish Armada enduring the gadfly ships of the English sailors."

Meanwhile events have given new urgency to our warning last week that the risk of a general war in the Pacific over Formosa is greater than any we encountered in Korea or Indo-China. The loss of two American lives in the Communist bombardment of Quemoy, renewed Nationalist attacks on other islands off the Chinese mainland, and the shooting down by Russians of an American plane near the Siberian coast are the inflammable stuff of which wars are made. Washington's appeal to the Security Council on the plane incident will accomplish nothing except to spread on the record the tensions which everyone knows exist in the area. The solution lies neither in Manila nor in the Security Council but ultimately in the General Assembly and the normalization of Communist China's position in the community of nations.

When the Devil Is Sick

For the first or perhaps the second time in his career we find ourselves in basic agreement with Senator McCarthy. The Senator now argues that a citizen cannot be in contempt of a body, "be it judicial or legislative, which is acting without authority." This, of course, is sound doctrine and harks back to the precedent of Kilbourn vs. Thompson (1881). It will be recalled that in that case Justice Miller, for the court, pointed out that the English Parliament had a general power to punish for contempt because it was once a court, but that Congress did not because it had never been a court. Thus Congress could not invoke the British Parliament's tradition to justify an inquiry into the private affairs of a citizen. Writing privately Justice Miller stated that courts and grand juries are the only inquisitions into crime which we permit, saying, "I do not recognize that Congress is the grand inquest of the nation."

Our thanks go to Senator Case for reminding McCarthy's counsel that his argument is exactly the same as that made in behalf of Corliss Lamont. Said Senator Case: "the presentations that were made [to the Senate in the Lamont case] would be useful to both our counsel and to counsel for Senator McCarthy." And so they would. Pushed on the one hand by Senator McCarthy and on the other by those stout civil libertarians, Corliss Lamont and Harvey O'Connor, Congress may yet yield up the terrain it has illegally preempted of recent years and moved back to its historic and constitutional boundaries.

Alternatives to Coexistence

In his speech to the American Legion convention in Washington, Cardinal Spellman denounced the idea of peaceful coexistence with a vehemence that prompted the New York *Journal-American* to use a headline for the story which distorted the language but not the spirit of the address: " 'Peace With Reds Fatal'—Spellman." If peaceful coexistence would be fatal to American security, then Cardinal Spellman should tell us what alternatives he has in mind. None was stated in his address. Father Antonio Lisandrini, on a cross-country speaking tour, told a Los Angeles audience on August 25 that while communism could be contained and limited in Italy, it could never be entirely eliminated without another war. Here the alternative to a policy of coexistence is frankly faced. What alternatives does Cardinal Spellman, whose Legion address was described as "the most significant and important heard at the convention," have in mind? A state of perpetual tension? A vigilant aloofness of the type which the Roman Empire maintained against the Goths and Picts? Or a preventive war?

"Even-handed Justice" in Ohio

Back in 1953 Frank Hashmall was arrested in Akron and charged with having used a false name and address in filling out an application for the registration of a motor vehicle. Ordinarily an offense of this kind would draw a nominal fine or, at worst, a mild jail sentence, but Hashmall was a Communist and hence fair game for harsher treatment. Two separate counts were made of the indictment—one for the use of the false name, one for the false address. Hashmall, married and the father of two children, was convicted and Judge Walter B. Wanamaker sentenced him to from six months to five years on each count, the sentences to run consecutively. Bail was denied pending appeal. The Supreme Court of Ohio affirmed the conviction but ruled that Judge Wanamaker had abused his discretion and modified the sentences by making them run concurrently. Said the court: "The record discloses that the trial judge probably did this because he was advised that the defendant was a Communist. However, a Communist is entitled to even-handed justice in our courts."

When the original sentence was imposed, the Cleveland *Press* described it as "unique." The *Plain Dealer* pointed out that officials could not recall another case in which a prison term had been meted out on such a charge. Frank J. Lausche refused to see a delegation that called to ask commutation of the sentence and berated its members for having "taken a conspicuously abnormal interest" in the case. But the interest would not be conspicuous if the sentences, even as modified, were not so abnormal. If justice is really even-handed in Ohio some reduction of this outrageous sentence will be ordered.

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H-BOMB POLICY

And Restive Britain . . *by P. M. S. Blackett*

London

IT IS my view that the efficacy of the Great Deterrent—supposed atomic superiority—as the main basis of British and American military policy became extremely doubtful as soon as the U. S. S. R. started to acquire a sizable stock pile of ordinary A-bombs. Now that we have to assume approximate H-bomb equality, I believe the theory and practice of the Great Deterrent is in fair way to becoming the theory and practice of the Great Bluff.

The Prime Minister has stated the case for a revision of British defense policy in impressive words.

> But I had not held my mind closed to the tremendous changes that have taken place in the whole strategic position in the world which make the thoughts, which were well founded and well knit together a year ago, utterly obsolete and which have changed the opinion of every competent soldier that I have been able to meet. . . . How utterly out of proportion to the Suez Canal and the position which we held in Egypt are the appalling developments and the appalling spectacle which imagination raises before us. Merely to imagine in outline the first few weeks of a war under conditions about which we did not know when the session commenced and about which we had not been told. . . . .

I have no means of knowing, of course, what precise facts the Prime Minister had in mind when he spoke these ominous words, but I will assume that they were substantially these: that the U. S. S. R. has probably now attained equality in H-bomb development, though probably not in number of ordinary A-bombs, and that it would be wise for defense planning purposes to assume also approximate equality in the power of delivering them.

Clearly it will be a long and difficult task to work out a new defense policy appropriate to the new situation. Very many complex facts and possibilities will have to be the subject of intricate planning and thought. I intend, therefore, to confine myself to some of these general probable consequences rather than to suggest specific changes in British defense policy.

THE first and most important of these conclusions is that there is now no possibility of success for any tough diplomatic policy aiming at rolling back without war the Soviet power to the Russian ethnic frontiers and so liberating the satellite states. Still more is a preventative war off the map, in spite of the efforts of some vociferous advocates.

Roll-back or liberation policies were much canvassed in America during the 1952 Presidential election, and even earlier were often advocated in many British and American papers as the main objective of the rearmament campaign. Once the West had sufficient strength on the ground to enable it to use safely the threat of atomic war, the U. S. S. R. was to be told to retire to its own frontier and accept second-power status—or be destroyed. "The year of decision," when the West would be ready for a showdown, was often held to be 1953 or 1954.

Clearly the Soviet progress in atomic bombs has made this policy impracticable. Many important consequences follow. Perhaps the most important may be in connection with the situation in Western Germany.

To see what this effect might be, it is only necessary to remember the essential incompatibility between the present Western German policy of close military alliance with the NATO powers and that of attaining unity with East Germany by peaceful means. A few years ago, while the A-bomb superiority of the West was a fact, there were three possible ways by which Western Germany could seek unity with the Eastern provinces: by a NATO victory in a third world war; by the success of a roll-back policy achieved through the threat of preventative war; and by a bargain with the U. S. S. R. Now, with H-bomb equality a fact, there is only the last way.

It seems almost certain that this issue of how to attain unity will dominate the political scene in West Germany in the next few years. So it seems inevitable that West Germany will start exploring all possible avenues to a bargain with the U. S. S. R. and in so doing will become an unreliable ally to the NATO powers.

IN the Far Eastern part of the cold war the chief effect of the development of hydrogen bombs has, I think, been to make it still more dangerous for the West to use or threaten to use even ordinary atomic bombs tactically. Undoubtedly plans were far advanced to drop atomic bombs from United States aircraft carriers on the Vietminh armies round Dienbienphu. It is not difficult to guess what the British Government said to this proposal of Admiral Radford. Where would it stop? Would Canton and Peking be the next targets—and then might there not be a Soviet counter-attack on the quite defenseless port of Singapore? If so, then perhaps Moscow would be the next target for American bombs, and in reply perhaps London and Paris for Soviet ones.

Similar considerations apply to Europe though perhaps less immediately. For it is certainly a fact that both A- and H-bombs and atomic shells fired from cannon could be in some circumstances a valuable tactical weapon in a land battle in Europe. They would be of some use in offense but be much more useful in a defensive action. Since NATO planning for land war must certainly be concerned with a defensive campaign, and since, moreover, America probably has now many more ordinary atomic bombs than the U. S. S. R., in the case of war the West might gain considerably by using atomic bombs tactically. However, the NATO planners must be greatly inhibited in planning for the

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P. M. S. BLACKETT, noted British scientist, won the Nobel prize for physics in 1948. Mr. Blackett, author of the widely read "Fear, War and the Bomb," has appeared before in The Nation.

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tactical use of atomic weapons because of the uncertainty as to whether wider strategic considerations would actually allow their use. If the tactical use of atomic shells by the West in a land battle was likely to lead to the strategic use of A- and H-bombs against cities, the tactical gain by using atomic shells would have to be compelling.

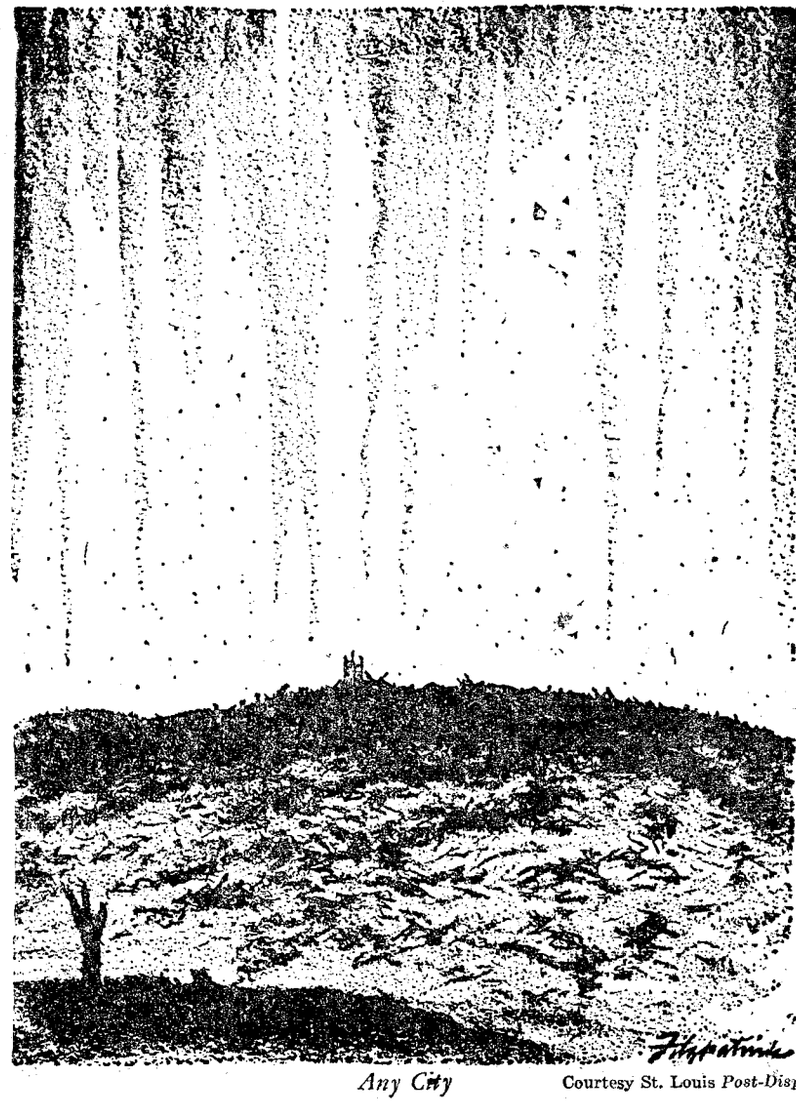
ANOTHER important consequence of the development of H-bombs by both East and West is to reduce drastically the military value of many exposed overseas air bases. For if the bases in Britain are doubtfully defensible, how much less defensible would be bases in Iceland, Turkey, Cyprus, the Middle East, the Philippines, Formosa, or Japan. The defense of even a single air base against atomic attack involves an extensive radar installation as well as many fighters and guided missiles. The cost of the equipment and the number of highly trained personnel required are too high to make feasible the effective defense of a large number of advanced bases. Even if such a base itself were adequately defended, this is hardly likely to be so for the cities of the country in which the bases are situated. So the U. S. S. R. could use the policy of the Great Deterrent in reverse: it could threaten atomic attacks on neighboring cities if and only if the local government had allowed American or British atomic bombers to use the bases for atomic attack on a Soviet country. There is no doubt that the neutralization of many advanced bases could, in certain circumstances, be achieved in this way. Thus the NATO powers may be forced to rely increasingly on relatively safe bases in America itself or advanced bases in relatively uninhabited lands, where there is no civil population.

The virtual writing off of the Suez military base, with its huge investment of military capital, is likely to be paralleled elsewhere.

Before it is possible to start thinking about possible changes in British defense policy it is necessary to analyze in some detail what is the real strength and weakness of the policy of the Great Deterrent as applied to British policy and what are its likely consequences. Now the primary aim of all the armed forces of any nation which considers itself peacefully inclined is, of course, to deter an enemy from attacking: it is only when the deterrent fails to operate that the armed forces have actually to fight. If, in recent years, the Soviets had envisaged the invasion of Western Europe with land forces they would undoubtedly have been deterred from so doing by the existence of the American atomic stockpile. Likewise, if the Western allies had envisaged the invasion of the U. S. S. R. they would have been deterred from so doing by the strength of the Soviet army. Thus these two factors, the American atomic bombs and the Soviet army, have certainly acted as effective deterrents to a third world war breaking out in the past few years.

The H-bomb now available to both sides will undoubtedly constitute a powerful deterrent to the outbreak of a major war in the future. Yet, on the other hand, it has little relevance to the possible outbreak, or conduct of, any minor wars. The weakness of the Great Deterrent as the main basis of NATO defense planning is that by concentrating so much material effort on the deterrence, by threat of atomic bombardment, of the U. S. S. R. from a full-scale attack on Europe, it weakens our ability to play an effective role in many parts of the world where minor wars may and do continually occur. So, by reducing relatively the land forces, tactical and transport aircrafts, etc., required to fight minor wars, we may find it difficult to prevent such minor wars spreading into bigger wars. In this way, the policy of the Great Deterrent may make a major war more rather than less likely. Serious military and moral problems have already arisen, in Indo-China, due to the fact that the only force available to intervene in a crisis was atomic bombs.

Before the advent of the H-bomb, it was often argued that the lack of defense of British cities was not important and did not inhibit our use of atomic attack on the Soviet Union, because our initial atomic attack would be so devastating as to prevent the enemy replying



Any City Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

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in kind against our cities. This I always thought dangerous nonsense. For airfields and bases can be far too dispersed and numerous to make possible the interdiction of them all in a short time. Now with H-bombs available to the U. S. S. R., and consequently with far fewer aircraft needed to destroy our cities, there is no hope at all of preventing atomic counterattack by attacking enemy bases in the first few hours or days of an all-out war.

Suppose, for instance, that the armed forces of Russia, or another Communist country, invade in force with ground troops some country in the Western orbit. Then the essence of the New Look policy would be for the West to use atomic bombs on targets in the U. S. S. R. Sir John Slessor makes perfectly clear that the readiness to be the first to use atomic bombs strategically is an essential element in this policy. The U. S. S. R. would be likely to reply in kind, and the cities of Western Europe would be easy targets. Thus if the New Look policy goes according to plan, any armed aggression by Soviet Communist land forces anywhere, even in relatively small force, would lead, in all probability, to the destruction of London, Paris, and other big European cities. European governments would, of course, be bound to try to stop any atomic attack on the U. S. S. R. in order to save their cities from destruction, and so would try to prevent the New Look policy from being put into operation. One concludes from this that in any circumstance other than a full-scale Soviet attack on the West, the New Look policy will be found in crisis to be a bluff.

It is in the light of such sombre conclusions as these that a new military defense policy for Britain must be worked out, and with it a new orientation of our foreign policy. Both sets of changes will take time to work out and may prove highly incongenial to many cherished dogmas. For the last nine years military and political thinking in Britain has assumed the decisive superiority of America over the U. S. S. R. in atomic weapons. Now, with H-bomb equality an assumed fact for planning purposes, a drastic and perhaps painful rethinking of this problem is necessary.

IKE'S FARM PROGRAM

Low Prices or Low Politics? . . . *by Gordon Roth*

St. Paul, Minnesota

THE press hailed the passage of the President's flexible farm program as Ike's greatest triumph since the Battle of the Bulge. The President himself proclaimed it a "great and sweeping victory." But a victory over what? Over the Democratic Party? Over communism (as certain remarks in the *Congressional Record* would have you believe)? Or, as the Administration insists, over high food prices? Or merely over the farmers of America?

Look at your family food budget. You are paying four cents more for bread than you were two years ago. Yet in this period the price received by the farmer for his wheat has remained practically unchanged. On August 16, with the fight for the flexible farm program dominating the day's headlines, the retail price of bread went up—but not the price of wheat.

The Administration, hungry for the votes of the big food consumers—in other words the big-city vote, the normally Democratic vote—has enthusiastically embraced an illusion and sold a good part of the country on it. The illusion is that 90 per cent parity, as provided under the old law, is to blame for high food prices, and that all that is needed to cut the price of food is to lower government-price supports and make farmers sell for less.

In the long run everyone will be victimized by the Administration illusion. But the immediate victim is the farmer.

PARITY is a complicated formula for farm prices which is supposed to assure the farmer a fair return for the things he sells in relation to the cost of the things he must buy. It is not a price guarantee; it is rather a goal, an objective. The farmer hasn't been getting parity prices for quite a while—the national average is 12 per cent below. He did get a taste of parity during World War II, but it was just a taste because government-imposed ceilings kept food prices from breaking through the stratosphere.

The farm problem is not one of scarcity but of abundance. Everyone agrees that in the interests of the national welfare it is essential that we have an abundant supply of food. But when does abundance end and a surplus begin? Surpluses, if uncontrolled, obviously depress the price of all that the farmer raises. That is the basic philosophy justifying government support of farm prices. It emerges in sharpest form during war emergencies. Everyone remembers the World War II slogan, "Food will win the war and keep the peace." The farmer did his part—he produced and produced and produced. In return the government gave him 90 per cent of parity on most of his products and at at the same time took over the surpluses. Today these same surpluses are used to determine parity and acreage reductions. The reasoning is complicated but the effect can be put in simple language: The farmer is being asked to assume the cost of his surplus contribution towards the prosecution of the war.

Industry and labor, during the same period, also created surpluses—in guns, battleships, airplanes. But in this case neither industry nor labor has been asked to assume the cost. Rather the surpluses are being paid for by the American people as a whole—including the

GORDON ROTH is editor of the Coop Grain Quarterly, *organ of the National Federation of Grain Cooperatives.*

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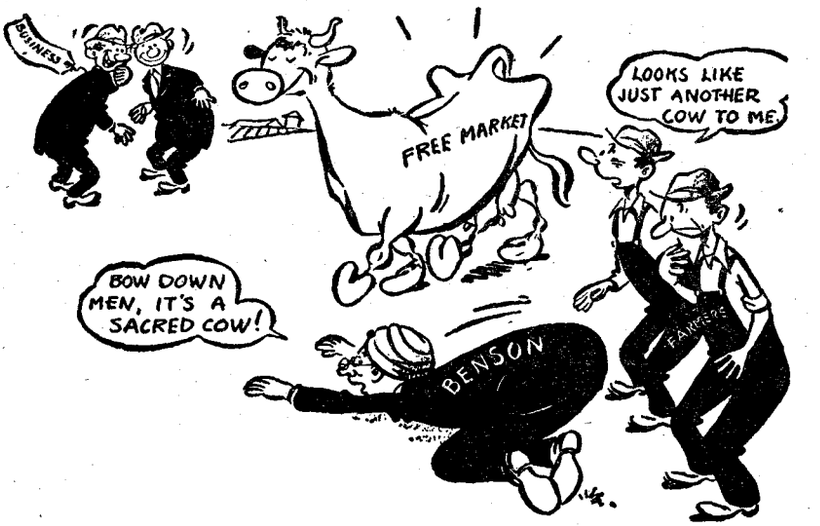
farmer—through an increase in the national debt which will be amortized over several generations. Is there any justification for treating farm surpluses any differently?

Bearing in mind that under present conditions 75 per cent or even 80 per cent of parity means a price level at or near disaster for most farmers, let us look at what the new flexible program does for agriculture. The law provides a flexible 82.5 to 90 per cent of parity price support in 1955 on wheat, corn, rice, peanuts, as well as on cotton. After next year the parity range will be from 75 to 90 per cent. There is no price support for cattle, hogs, or sheep. Dairy products are already below the 75 to 90 per cent parity system; the effect is that dairy farmers are getting 75 per cent of parity. The Administration is not required to support the price on feed grains, potatoes, and oil crops, although the Secretary of Agriculture is empowered at his discretion to support these commodities at anywhere from 1 to 90 per cent.

Hardest hit is the wheat farmer, who will take a 7.5 per cent cut on his support price next year. And to be eligible for even this much he must take 30 per cent of his wheat acreage out of production—a cut he has already volunteered to make rather than trust to an open market system which in the 1930's brought him 25 cents a bushel.

One would never know it from listening to the Administration push its program for deflating farm prices, but the truth is that the farmer is now much worse off than he was in the pre-Korean days of 1948. His income is buying about 33 per cent less than it would have bought seven years ago, while many other groups in the population have increased their living standards. The farmers constitute the one big group under pressure to accept a reduced income. There is little wonder that he resents being called a greedy ingrate by the pundits of the press.

THE President is hailed as a statesman because, to put over his flexible farm program, he successfully bucked the opposition within his own party and repudiated, in the process, the "golden promise of parity" which he repeatedly made to farmers in his 1952 campaign. There is certainly no room for ambiguity



Farmers Union Herald

Maybe It's Just a Stray, Ezra

in the way he said it at Brookings, South Dakota:

> The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90 per cent parity price support, and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity of 100 per cent parity with the guarantee in the price support of 90 per cent.

He broke his pledge in a broadcast last June 10 in which he tried to give the impression that he was above politics because he was trying to solve the farm problem in an election year.

He got a big hand for this statement. Professional pundits seized upon it as the most statesmanlike utterance since Lincoln's Gettysburg address. But it took only six weeks for his words to take on a green tarnish. On July 24 *Business Week*, which has no bias against the Administration, stated:

> Eisenhower hopes to cut the G. O. P. in on Democratic city votes. . . . The stand on farm-price supports is an example. The determination to get away from the high, rigid, and expensive supports at 90 per cent of parity is aimed at the city workingman. The idea is that food will cost less if Washington lets farm prices ease down.

Nobody should be surprised that a President should play politics. But folks in the farm belt believe they have a right to be angry with the pundits of the press and radio who have been telling city folks that farmers were villains because they grew too much food and would not give it away. A lot of people believe it.

Ike got what he wanted and in the getting furnished his adversaries with a text-book lesson on how his Administration operates. When both House and Senate agricultural committees let it be known that they favored keeping price supports at 90 per cent of parity, the Administration swung into action. It brought indirect pressure on Congress by going on the air to address the people. Taxpayers were told: "Play it our way and we will cut your taxes." Housewives were told: "Support us and food will be cheaper." An appeal was made to the American sense of fair play (although in whose behalf was never made very clear). Publicly it was all part of the great crusade. Privately wayward Republicans, especially those up for reelection, were warned to toe the line.

At the same time the Administration forced various farm-commodity groups into line. Wool growers were threatened with a loss of their 90 per cent of parity price supports. So were tobacco growers. Dairy farmers, particularly in the Eastern states, whose prices were already down to 75 per cent of parity, were told that the flexible farm program would mean cheaper feed prices for them.

And behind the whole Administration campaign there hung a potential threat to the nation's entire farm economy. Give us the flexible farm program, the White House and Secretary Benson told Congress, or the President will veto a fixed 90 per cent parity law. Such a veto would have left the existing 75 per cent parity price support law in force and proven even a bigger blow to farmers than the President's program.

The Administration won with battering rams, flame throwers, and the paper

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legions of the Farm Bureau, 1,600,000 strong. It was indeed a great victory. But now the Republicans are wondering at what price. There is prayerful hope that the farmers are not as angry as reports indicate; there is hope that they sympathize with the President's view that no matter how much it hurts the farmer, this is the program America needs. Maybe so. As columnist Doris Fleeson wrote: "Republicans are relying upon a combination of the farmer's normal voting habits, the Eisenhower prestige and the American Farm Bureau Federation to prevent a serious breakaway. . . . They expect the Farm Bureau, in a sense the aristocracy of the farm organizations, to help with the House districts in the farm belt, both with money and time."

But the farmer is learning. The parity ratio—that statistical and by no means mythical expression of the farmer's purchasing power—is lower than it has been for thirteen years. Congressional farm leaders are angrily arguing that the farmer has suffered enough recently and that the President is jeopardizing the prosperity of the whole country by weakening the support given to the most vulnerable section of the economy.

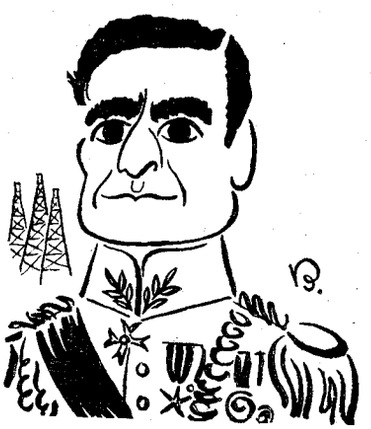
Ike may still be popular in many areas, but he had better make up his mind that he will have to do some mighty tall talking between now and November. Farmers are hard to fool twice.

IRAN'S FABULOUS OIL

And Some Popular Fables . . *by A. Kessel*

AN agreement settling the long-standing Iranian oil dispute has been initialed between the Iranian government and a consortium—cartel is not a very respectable word—of eight oil companies. Congratulatory notes have criss-crossed among the President of the United States, the Shah, Mr. Eden, and the various ambassadors, ministers, and oil company officials concerned, not to speak of Herbert Hoover, Jr., who seems to have been rewarded with something more concrete than congratulations. The New York *Times* called the agreement "a diplomatic victory for the West." The Iranians have been told that they are now embarked on a new era of national progress and prosperity. And the Shah and his ministers, renewing their "two years of treason" campaign against the former Mossadegh regime, are exhorting the Iranian parliament to ratify the agreement or else.

These widespread expressions of optimism are based on a number of misconceptions which have been sedulously propagated internationally ever since Iran nationalized its oil in 1949. For instance it has been widely publicized that Iran's general economy, as well as the government's revenues, are dependent upon the continued flow of black gold. This is a shockingly false picture. Let us examine the allegation in the light of four criteria: the oil industry's contribution to the national budget; its contribution to the national income; its contribution to employment, and, finally, its role in the life of the Iranian people.



Shah of Iran

The National Budget. The highest annual net money return to the Iranian government by the oil industry was in 1948-49 and amounted to $30,000,000. The national budget that year was approximately $300,000,000. Thus the oil revenue amounted to about 10 per cent of the national budget. It is true that since most of the oil revenue was in foreign exchange, its value was greater than the figures indicate. But by no stretch of the imagination can the revenue be calculated as forming the "major share" of the national budget.

The National Income. Iran is a large country (over 600,000 square miles), sparsely populated (about 18 to 20 millions), predominantly agricultural, and sadly lacking in statistics. Any estimate of its national income is bound to be hardly more than a reasonable guess. The latest such guess appears in the U. N. Statistical Year Book for 1952, which puts the figure at about $1,800,000,000 annually during recent years. Experts will affirm that the figure is more likely to be an under- than an overestimate.

How much did the oil industry contribute to the national income? First, there are the cash revenues which accrue directly to the government; second, the wages and salaries earned by Iranians in the industry; third, the goods and services purchased by the industry in Iran. Even at the peak of its operation, the industry employed fewer than 100,000, mostly unskilled labor. Assuming an average income for these workers of $500 a year (an optimistic guess, about six times greater than the national average), this amounts to $50,000,000. The industry's purchases in Iran are limited, for its technical equipment, and the non-technical goods and services for its non-Iranian employees, are purchased abroad. If we put the figure at $20,000,000 a year we are probably overestimating.

Let us recapitulate. Oil royalties at

A. KESSEL is an Iranian engineer, formerly employed by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, who is now a research assistant at the University of Chicago specializing in the problems of underdeveloped areas.

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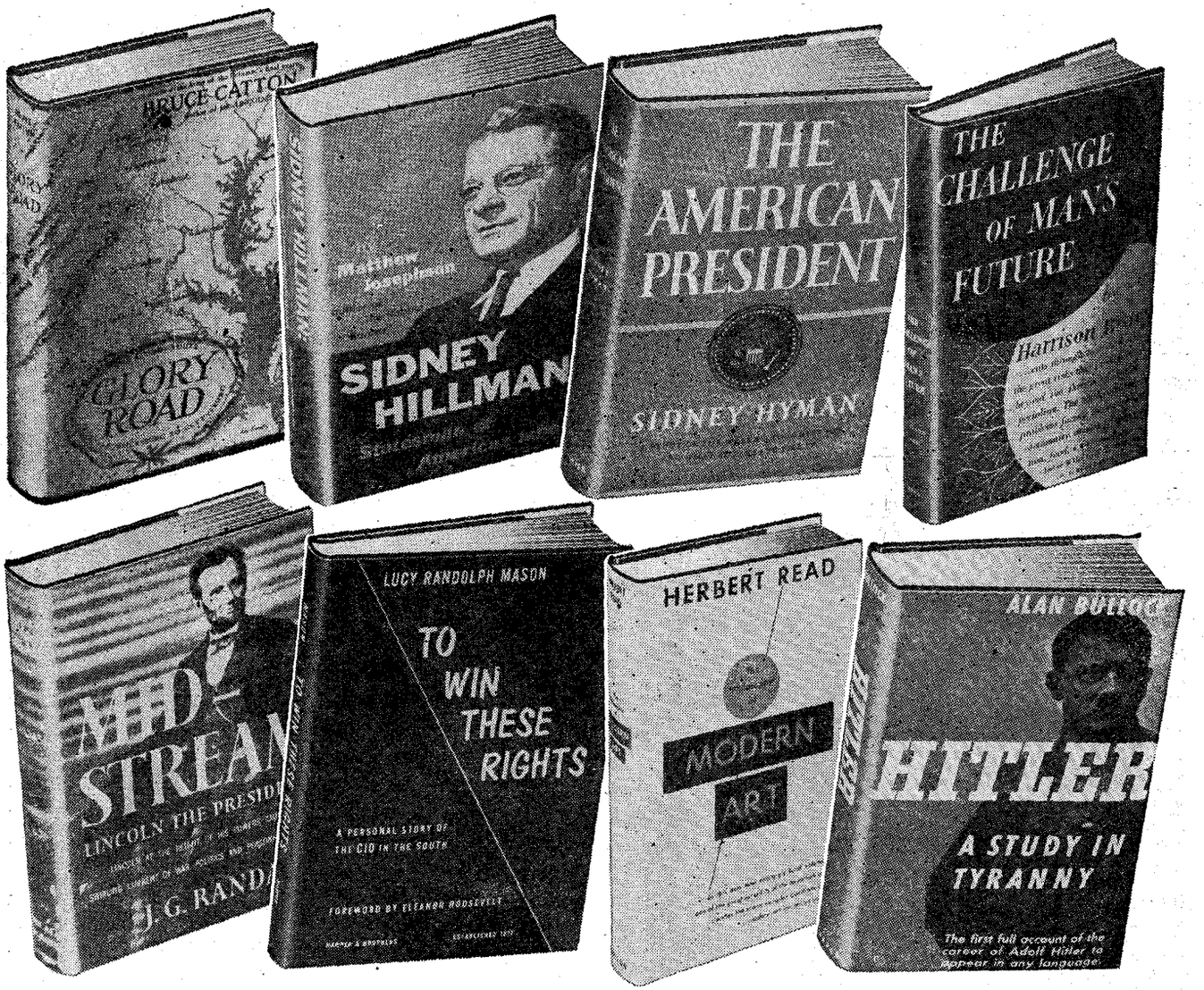

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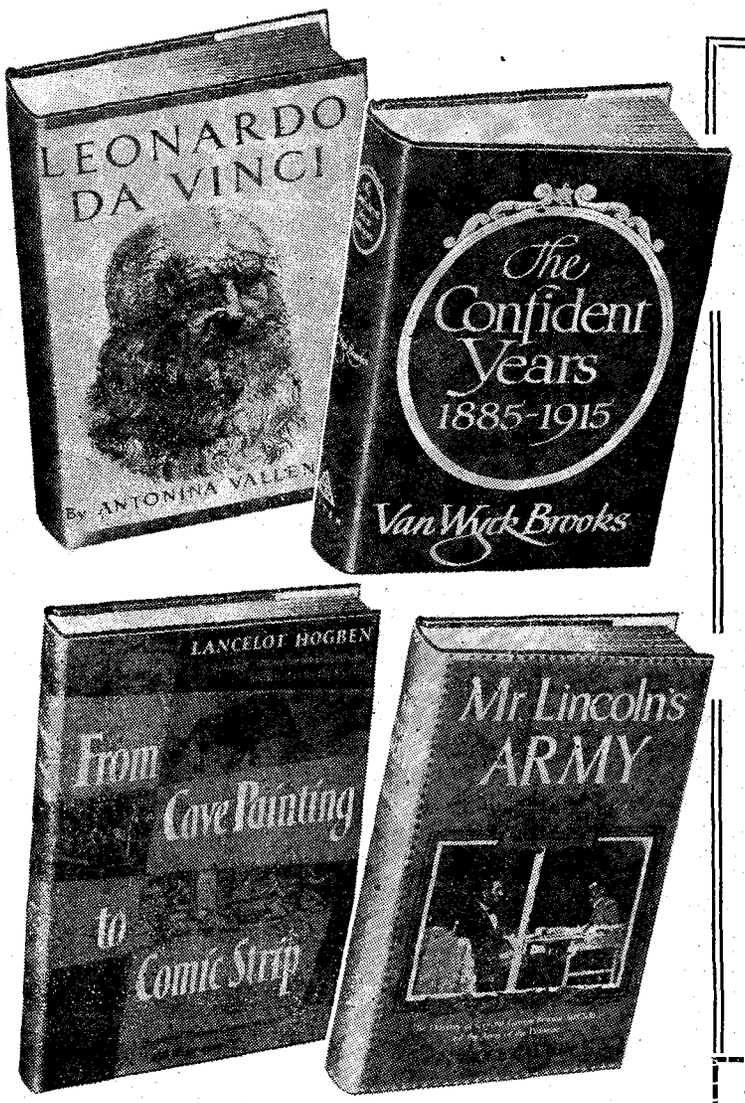

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their peak amounted to $30,000,000; wages and salaries, $50,000,000; goods and services, $20,000,000. The oil industry's total contribution amounted to $100,000,000—or about 6 per cent of the annual national income of $1,800,000,000.

Shall we be generous and allow for a figure of 10 per cent?

Employment. Iran's male labor force can be estimated at 5,000,000 persons. The oil industry never employed more than 100,000,000, or about 2 per cent.

Oil Industry's Role. To the vast majority of the people of Iran the oil industry simply does not exist. They get nothing from it directly or indirectly. At least 85 per cent of the people live on a primitive agriculture; 20 per cent still lead a nomadic tribal existence. It has yet to be proven that the oil industry has raised the abysmally low standard of living of these Iranian masses by any substantial amount.

For two years, under Mossadegh's regime, the Abadan refineries were closed with no observable deterioration in the country's standard of living. If anything, conditions improved somewhat—employment was slightly higher, production was up a little, the trade balance was slightly more favorable. If it is true that when the new government took over after last year's pseudo-revolution the national coffers were empty, then this was not because the oil industry had been shut down. The main reasons lie in major shortcomings of the socio-economic organization of Iranian society which have no relation to the oil industry.

WHY was there no settlement of the oil dispute during Mossadegh's regime? The public was given all sorts of reasons: the chauvinistic Iranians had lost their commonsense; the stubborn playactor, Mossadegh, was unreasonable; the Communists had taken over the country; the Iranian government was refusing to pay compensation to Anglo-Iranian. But there is another and more likely reason which never reached the headlines. The world oil cartel sets the world market price and wants to be able to continue doing so. Mossadegh's terms, in contrast, demanded independence of operation, including sales at prices outside the cartel's control. And it may be said in passing that Iran's production was potentially large enough and cheap enough to have posed a real threat to world prices under such conditions.

Some of the truth did leak out. The New York *Times* of August 26, 1953, wrote of the existing concern "for the world market price system for oil rather than with the question of compensation for Anglo-Iranian." And four days later the *Times* wrote: "If the Anglo-Iranian Company should regain control, the Iranian oil supplies might be channeled into world markets with a minimum of disturbance to prices. . . . Should no agreement be made with Anglo-Iranian, the reentry of Iranian oil in the international market could be serious. Another organization without adequate distribution outlets might drastically reduce prices in order to find a market. This would create chaos in world oil markets, for only a relatively few areas could compete in price with the low-cost production of Iran." On September 22, 1953, the *Times* referred to Iranian oil as "barred from world markets for more than two years by the successful British commercial blockade backed by world oil interests."

THE inside story of the "popular revolt" which overthrew the Mossadegh regime in August last year will be known only after the various secret documents involved are made public. One may safely conjecture, however, that the story given to the press did not tell the whole truth. It may or may not be relevant, for instance, that the "revolution" broke out in Iran only a short time after Mossadegh had succeeded in selling $3,000,000 worth of oil to the Japanese, and the British had already lost their case in the Japanese courts trying to prevent the unloading of the oil.

The exact terms of the new agreement have not yet been divulged, but it is interesting to compare what we know of them to the terms of the old concession. The now defunct agreement with Anglo-Iranian was scheduled to remain in effect until 1993—approximately another forty years. The new agreement is for twenty-five years with provisions for three automatic renewals of five years each, *i. e.*, a total of forty years. Production, export, marketing, and all other operations are to be carried out by the consortium which, except for the presence of an Iranian member on the board, will be predominantly non-Iranian. Royalties to the Iranian government will be based on a fifty-fifty sharing of all marketing operations, an arrangement similar to that in Saudi Arabia, and one which American oil interests tried to induce Anglo-Iranian to offer to Iran at the time of nationalization.

It would appear then that the only real gain to the Iranian government in the new agreement is that the American oil companies assume responsibility for compensating Anglo-Iranian (*Time* estimated the amount involved as $600,000,000) in return for the privilege of sharing the profits.

WHAT are the disadvantages to Iran? One is entitled to wonder, of course, how much the entrance of six powerful American oil companies into the Iranian domestic scene is going to affect the freedom of operation of the Iranian government. Apart from this, there is a more fundamental issue: the gains accruing to a society, especially an underdeveloped one, from the operation of any large industry are not confined to immediate cash returns. There are invaluable indirect factors, such as the creation of a skilled labor force, the growth of subsidiary service industries, the development of new industries related to the first, the creation of a sense of responsibility and managerial know-how on both the local and national level. During the forty years which Anglo-Iranian operated in Iran, such indirect gains to the Iranian economy were infinitesimal. The oil industry has been simply an isolated production island with a minimum number of contacts with the rest of the economy. There is no reason to suppose that the new consortium will act any differently from Anglo-Iranian. Indeed, from the point of view of a company operating solely for profit, there is no other way to act.

On the other hand the gains to Iran of continued independent operation of the nationalized industry in the form of increased self-reliance, a greater sense of political independence, and faster technological development under the pressure of necessity, would have far outweighed the loss in cash revenue. And had there existed no world oil cartel, there is every reason to believe that even the cash revenues would have proved as great as are now promised.

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THE CHINA TRADE

Millions—or Mirage? . . . *by Julian Schuman*

AS the British Labor delegation currently touring China has ample reason to know, the Chinese Communists, despite their close political and commercial links with the Russians, make no bones about wanting to trade with the West, including the United States. This is true of the government and of individual Chiness business men, for both recognize that if the five-year plan for industrialization, now in its second year, and the long-range goal of trebling the volume of industry over the next fifteen to twenty years are to be achieved or even approached, large quantities of capital goods and raw materials must be imported. Proud as the Chinese are, they are also extremely hard-headed in business dealings, and their slogan has become, "In business we're not mad at anybody."

IT has been evident in the last two years that the Peking government's ambitious plans for industrialization were making real progress. A great number of new machine-tool factories have sprung up in Shanghai, which was formerly a center of light industry. In Nanking, Hangchow, and Canton, which had very little industry five years ago, small and even fairly large plants are turning out electrical appliances, telephone and telecommunications equipment, lathes, burlap bags, and numerous other articles China never used to produce. The most highly industrialized area is still Manchuria, where Japanese-founded industries have been greatly expanded. On a trip to Mukden late in 1952 I saw a factory the Japanese had built to produce tanks turning out lathes, planes, and other machine tools on a mass basis. Thirty per cent of the equipment was American and British left over from Nationalist days, 45 per cent had been imported from Russia and Czechoslovakia, and 25 per cent had been made in China under the new regime. Simultaneously, the development of industries in the vast, thinly populated northwest is getting under way. While China experts far removed from the scene will tend to doubt it, the Chinese foresee that this area will eventually become an industrial base even larger than the northeast is at present.

THE British, who have kept their diplomats and business men in China, have taken a long hard look at the situation. They admit that foreign ownership of railroads, public utilities, coal mines, and factories in China is a thing of the past, but they believe that the opportunities for trade are greater than ever. I knew a British business man in Shanghai who was planning to return to England to join a business house engaged in trade with China. He had spent nearly twenty-five of his thirty-eight years working in China in a number of British firms and confidently predicted a further upsurge in British trade as soon as the Korean question was settled. At the same time, like other of his countrymen, he was aware of the growing West German competition. "Some American officials," he said, "have been waxing eloquent about British 'blood trade,' but there has been no mention of the fact that West German exports to Red China jumped to more than twenty million American dollars in the 1953 January-November period. Imports from China went up from around fifteen to more than thirty million."

A Chinese import-export man in Shanghai whose firm has been dealing chiefly with Southeast Asia since the United Nations embargo went into effect in 1951 summed up the prevailing opinion of the China market: "It's true only a small part of American foreign trade in the last twenty years has been with China, but this must be viewed in the context of a China in the grip of civil war, militarily a war zone, politically divided, economically graft-ridden, and dominated to a large extent by the Japanese. Whether Americans like it or not, changes are going on. The twelve-year runaway inflation, when speculation largely replaced investment and commercial activity, is at an end. New factories are going up, attempts are being made to modernize farming methods, mines and oil wells are being opened, power plants are being built. All this calls for materials, for both building and operating."

Before Chiang Kai-shek's defeat in 1949, oil products, cotton and rayon textiles, food and tobacco were China's chief imports. In 1946 such items accounted for nearly 57 per cent of the total value of imports. Industrial equipment and machine tools accounted for less than 3 per cent. China's annual trade deficit averaged U. S. $153,000,000 between 1926 and 1946 and in 1946 rose to nearly $500,000,000. These figures are based on government reports.

Since the beginning of 1950 the situation has changed drastically. In that year, according to Peking statistics, China achieved a favorable balance in foreign trade for the first time in

Japan's View

Tokyo

The Japanese Government has announced that the ban has been lifted on export of 17 more items to Communist China. This is the fourth series of relaxations on restrictions on trade with China effected since the beginning of this year. In January, 93 items were removed from the embargo list; 43 more items were freed in June and 11 others on September 16. Meanwhile, a twenty-four-member trade mission, issued passports by the Japanese Foreign Office, is in China. —*Journal of Commerce, October 14, 1953.*

JULIAN SCHUMAN spent six years in China as a journalist, three of them as associate editor of the China Monthly Review *of Shanghai. He left China last winter.*

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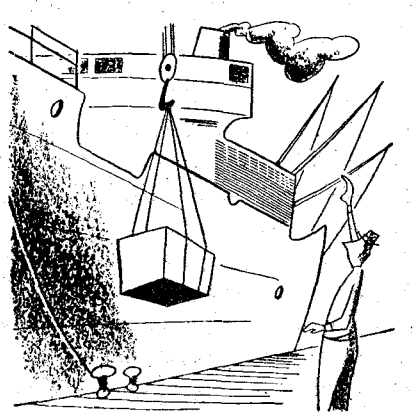
seventy years. In addition its imports had become very different, though exports remained largely the same. In 1950 iron and steel goods formed 11.3 per cent of imports, machinery 8.3 per cent, rubber 11.5 per cent, rolling stock and ships 3.3 per cent, automobile tires 1.1 per cent. This meant that even before the nation-wide industrialization plan got under way nearly half of China's imports were directly connected with industrial needs. Since 1950 China's trade with both the Russian bloc and the West has shown a continuation of this trend.

It is claimed by Chi Chao-ting, general secretary of the official China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and a member of the board of directors of the Bank of China, that "the United States-inspired embargo and blockade measures failed to create difficulties for China economically." On the contrary, says Chi, who did graduate work in the United States and held a high post in the Nationalist Bank of China, "China's foreign trade has continued to grow. The expansion is the result of the shift in the direction of China's trade—toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In 1950 trade with these countries constituted only 26 per cent of China's total foreign commerce. In 1951 it rose to 61 per cent, and by last year it was over 70 per cent."

The Chinese realize, however, that their plans for rapid industrialization make it impossible for these countries to satisfy their needs. And they know that the United States could help supply the almost insatiable market they hope will be created by their present capital construction—the market for farm machinery, food-processing equipment, trucks, drilling machinery, sawmills, dredges, chemicals, power-plant equipment, locomotives and rails, and so on. Their failure to develop trade with America has forced them to look to West Europe and Japan for needs not met by Russia and its satellites. In the second half of last year China signed commercial agreements with French, British, Japanese, and Indonesian trade groups in Peking. More recently officials in the Bonn government have come out strongly for more trade with China.



China can export tungsten, coal, antimony, tin, mica, manganese and some other minerals, eggs and egg products, hides, tung oil, soy beans, pig bristles, and handicraft articles. Official Chinese trade circles have pointed out that minerals exports can be greatly increased by the development of the virtually untapped northwest and southwest. Judging by already explored deposits, China ranks fourth in coal resources. In 1937 it produced 70 per cent of the world's antimony, 37 per cent of its tungsten, and ranked fifth in the output of tin.

WHILE not an important item in the trade with the West, smuggling through Hongkong provides China with some of the goods it wants from the United States. I knew a Chinese in Shanghai who bought a number of 1953 De Sotos in Hongkong and brought them across the border. British business men in Hongkong told me that American firms also engaged in such clandestine trade, chiefly through their subsidiaries in Japan. Another charge going the rounds is that even Formosan firms trade with the mainland. It is a fact that the majority of late-model automobiles in China today are American. The Chinese calmly admit that despite the "extra" cost they are cheaper than Russian cars. Most new trucks, however, are of Russian or Czechoslovak manufacture.

Because of the embargo a good portion of the goods involved in recent deals with Britain, West Germany, France, Japan, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland has not been forthcoming, though the British and Japanese have succeeded in getting some items removed from the banned list. Meanwhile, West European business men who have come to China have made it clear they are biding their time until a Korean settlement is arrived at and the embargo ended.

Americans with whom I have discussed the possibility of trade with China are concerned about its political implications. "How can we be expected to help Red China industrialize?" they ask; on the other hand, "perhaps large-scale trade with Peking would help win the Chinese away from the Russians." They also want to know how the Chinese would pay. The Chinese say they prefer barter, but they do have gold and foreign currency and have been known to use it for goods they thought essential. If trade should develop, the question of credits to the Chinese would naturally arise. A typical Chinese reply to the question of payment is, "Well, the British, Germans, and French are not in business for their health and they seem to have found a way to get paid." This, of course, is not a complete answer to Americans, who can reply that the goods China can sell to Europe are not really needed by us.

How large Western trade with China will become in the immediate future is difficult to estimate. But it may occur even to a very skeptical American business man that should China develop into the huge market its spokesmen foresee he may some day find himself out in the cold as a result of having let others get in ahead of him.

Germany's View

Bonn

Two high West German officials called this week-end for a further increase in the Bonn republic's growing trade with Communist China. One of the officials was Hans-Cristoph Seebohm, Minister of Transport. He is believed to be the first of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Cabinet ministers to go on record publicly as in favor of more business dealings with the Peking regime at this time. The other official was Wilhelm Kaisen, president of the senate of the city-state of Bremen. . . . Both men spoke last night at Hamburg before 700 West German business men at an annual dinner of the East Asia Union, a powerful north German traders' association that has recently been exerting pressure on the Bonn government for full freedom for West German vessels to deliver cargoes to Chinese Communist harbors.—*New York* Herald Tribune, *March 15, 1954.*

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BOOKS

Failure of the Citizen?

THE TREASON OF THE PEOPLE. By Ferdinand Lundberg. Harper and Brothers. $4.50.

By H. H. Wilson

IN AN attempt to balance the scales of political criticism too frequently loaded against Congress, executive, "bureaucrat," or politician, Ferdinand Lundberg, author of "America's 60 Families" and "Imperial Hearst," has written a scathing denunciation of the "fifth branch" of democratic government—the citizenry. Noting the common predilection for making the government the scapegoat and whipping boy for all public disappointments, Lundberg suggests that this practice is rather "an unhealthy evasion of responsibility by the citizens" than a constructive response. He concludes that the formal, procedural, institutional aspects of our national government function fairly well, while "the informal, popular, social, and local aspects function at from zero to no more than 50 per cent of efficiency." The result is "that our vaunted democracy is to a vast extent illusory, not in its formal and professional superstructure, but in its foundations, among the people."

To document this thesis chapters are devoted to analysis of popular response to the seven major duties which Lundberg believes to be the responsibilities of democratic citizens. He lists these duties as the obligation to vote, to serve on juries, to pay taxes, to uphold, observe and aid in the enforcement of laws, to practice a common forbearance, to defend the country, and to be informed. Few observant persons will care to challenge the specific evidence marshalled to demonstrate "that the people as a whole . . . have to a very large and demonstrable extent betrayed the broad conception of the common good that is integral to the democratic philosophy."

Examination of voting behavior provides slight encouragement to those who believe that free people wish to determine their own political destinies. In practice most citizens abstain from voting, apart from Presidential elections. All but 25 per cent of those who do vote do so mechanically according to party labels, largely determined by how the voters' fathers voted. Only when their native bigotry and intolerance are aroused do significant numbers of the faithful desert the party ticket. In any case the majority of the voters, Lundberg finds, cannot vote intelligently because of ignorance or the complexity of issues.

NO greater responsibility is shown in fiscal affairs. The fact that taxes are greater than ever before does not mean, in Mr. Lundberg's judgment, that we are eager to support our government with adequate revenue. Actually taxes have been introduced to meet emergency demands and almost never willingly accepted for long-range social improvement. Furthermore, taxes have had to be imposed indirectly so that people would not notice them. There is no public opinion to support any planned rational expenditure; only a minor portion of tax funds goes to the support of essential social and cultural improvements. Some two-thirds of the revenue goes to pay for past, present, or future wars. Lundberg believes the facts deny the facile assumption that citizens are better qualified than the government to spend money for the common good. "What the people prefer (as the good life) is shown by their voluntary expenditures." And they spend for alcoholic beverages more than all public or private expenditures for education and libraries. "That the American destiny is to a very considerable extent in the hands of this infantile electorate, which fritters away a large part of its substance while humanly serious projects are delayed or starved, is a sobering fact to contemplate."

Dependent as it is on the largely voluntary service of citizens as jurors and witnesses, the judicial system fails to achieve approximate efficiency or even justice. The difficulty of getting respectable citizens to serve on juries is widely recognized and the need to overcome reluctance to serve as witness is testified to by the widespread use of subpoenas. Beyond this is the fact, says Mr. Lundberg, "that the greatest profits, rewards, and public advancements lie on the side of putting in with the lawbreakers. American society, indeed, is a society of pirates—not of a few highly placed pirates but of pirates scattered about heavily through all strata of society."

Popular willingness to defend the country has been no more spontaneous in democratic than in autocratic nations. No modern government has ever permitted the people to vote on the issue of war and no government can rely upon voluntary enlistments to provide for the defense of the nation. Although there were many voluntary war workers in World War II, Lundberg believes that a majority of American civilians looked upon the war as an opportunity to make money. And the government, apart from the customary formal references to democracy and patriotism, recognized this by manipulating the price system and making possible high wages, production bonuses, and cost-plus contracts.

Perhaps nothing more clearly demonstrates popular antipathy to the principles of democracy than the prevalence of a virulent racism. "Instead of finding among our people," observes Mr. Lundberg, "widespread tolerance of natural and cultural differences, and mutual forbearance, in accord with the democratic idea, we actually find them divided into mutually hostile groups that are appeased and led to cooperate, when they do, only by being given special concessions." Apart from racial and religious bigotry, he concludes that "civil liberties . . . are used for the most part against the realization of democracy, and relatively few persons put them to use for authentic democratic ends."

Possibly the most useful sections of the book are those which treat the operations of pressure groups—business, labor, farm, religious. It is no small service to have deflated much of the pseudo-scientific jargon with which some writers have sought to disguise the fact that "pressure groups are produc-

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H. H. WILSON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is professor of political science at Princeton and author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."*

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NEXT WEEK

Tyranny on Trial
by Whitney R. Harris

Hitler's Europe
Edited by Arnold Toynbee and Veronica M. Toynbee

Modern Company
by Koppel S. Pinson

German History:
Some New German Views
Edited by Hans Kohn

Governing Postwar Germany
by Edward H. Litchfield and Associates
Reviewed by Frederick L. Schuman

Heroes of the Empty View
by James Aldridge
Reviewed by Edgar Snow

Adventure in Freedom
by Oscar Handlin
Reviewed by Henry Popkin

tive of more instability in American society and politics than any other force. . . ."

This is a curious book in which the author makes his case by contrasting the principles enunciated by democratic theorists with the actual behavior of Americans. The specific facts are those normally compiled by anti-democrats to prove the futility of democratic politics. Yet Mr. Lundberg writes as an avowed democrat and averts conservative criticism by making explicit his hostility to statism, communism, or socialism. In a sense this is a nihilist tract for, although it is focused on American politics, as presented it is an indictment of human beings. No people have ever lived up to the standards demanded by democratic theory. It is doubtful that democratic theorists anticipated complete participation by more than a significant minority of the citizenry. And surely most exponents have assumed that the strongest case for democratic politics derived from consideration of alternatives.

For this reviewer the most serious reservation is a matter of emphasis. Mr. Lundberg has perhaps insufficiently stressed the sources of individual behavior which he condemns. He fails to point out that cultural coercion is the most powerful determinant of individual response. Since culture is man-made it may be argued that in the large sense this is the responsibility of individuals, but in practice culture expresses the values and practices of the dominant class. The United States is a business, a commercial society in which the commercial standards have permeated and dominated every institution. There is no competing class or cultural standard to challenge these values. There is no politically significant group in the country which is genuinely devoted to the general welfare, committed to true conservative values, or devoted to democratic principles. There is little merit in condemning ordinary citizens for irresponsible behavior, lack of public spirit, inadequate conceptions of the "good life," or self-seeking when the major "educational" forces in society constantly inculcate these standards. From the beginning of this nation the government was looked upon by all save a handful of genuine conservatives as a great sow-mother to be milked by those who had access to power. Politics was considered merely a device to be manipulated for personal or class gain. Since the "best people," those who had access to power, privilege, and wealth accepted this as normal it is not surprising that each successive group, as it in turn gained access to power, decided to be "practical." Given the wealth of the nation, a sparse population, and no international relations, it cannot be denied that the system worked moderately well and undoubtedly contributed to the speed with which the nation's resources were developed. It is a philosophy totally inadequate and ultimately destructive of our professed values in the present era. An interdependent society based on a complex technology forces the development of a welfare state. Whatever the underlying philosophy, governments must increasingly and continuously direct, control, and stimulate large segments of social activity. This demands the most responsible kind of behavior on the part of individuals and groups. Our task is rendered infinitely difficult because we have no tradition and no class to provide an example of public service and self-restraint.

YOUNG PEOPLE!
ASK YOUR TEACHERS, PASTORS, PARENTS

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Ask respectfully why it is that in High School and College you can learn what scholars have to say about the history of many countries, but that our educational system gives you no corresponding scholarly instruction about the history of the Hebrew nation.

According to the first five books of the Bible, our ideas about God were given as a revelation from heaven upon Mount Sinai in the wilderness of Arabia. But a new translation of the Bible has just been made by scholars from our leading institutions of higher learning, who do not accept the story of revelation in the first five Scriptural books.

Scholars today, in Harvard, Yale and other great universities, teach that our ideas about God, instead of being given on a mountain in the desert, were developed through a very intriguing process of evolution in the land of Canaan, or Palestine. But young people are completely shut out from this new and highly interesting way of teaching Hebrew history and the Bible.

Our educational system, then, is actually a party to your exclusion from the results of modern scientific research into Hebrew history and the Bible. And as long as this appalling situation remains unchanged, you should not be criticised if you are bored by orthodox religious exhortation. But bear in mind, when raising the question with your teachers, pastors and parents, that they are carrying serious burdens, and are more solicitous for your welfare than you fully realize. Friendly discussion and not controversy is what we need today.—Suggestions will be found in a circular which will be forwarded to young people, from eighteen to eighty, in return for a three cent stamp to cover postage. (Requests without a stamp will bring no result.)—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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Selected New Books

Belles-Lettres

THE CREATIVE ELEMENT. By Stephen Spender. British Book Center. $3.25. The chief focus of Mr. Spender's criticism is the relation between modern literature and political reality. He finds the three currently prevailing tendencies to be Marxism, secular authority, and Christianity.

THE GOLDEN HORIZON. Edited by Cyril Connolly. British Book Center. $5.50. This anthology of the best of *Horizon* is notable for excellent personal impressions of World War II and vivid essays on European literary figures.

PERSPECTIVES USA No. 8. Viking. $1.50. The Ford Foundation's quarterly selection of representative American writing contains a significant discussion by Paul J. Tillich of depersonalization in modern society.

THE IDENTITY OF YEATS. By Richard Ellmann. Oxford. $6. The complicated symbolic nd philosophic underpinning of Yeats's work is lucidly traced through his career with the aid of detailed exegeses and compared revisions of his poems. A book essential to the understanding of Yeats.

DEAREST FATHER. By Franz Kafka. Schocken Books–Noonday Press. $5. A rich collection of drafts, meditations, fragments, and autobiographical material drawn from Kafka's manuscripts.

JOHN RUSKIN. By Joan Evans. Oxford. $4.25. Letting Ruskin speak for himself as far as possible, this biography includes recently discovered facts about his marital difficulties, and gives a very fair evaluation of his art criticism and political ideas.

WYNDHAM LEWIS. By Hugh Kenner. New Directions. $2.50. The first book on one of the most paradoxical of modern authors sharply demonstrates the results of his war on Time and the Self.

JACOB KORG

Fiction

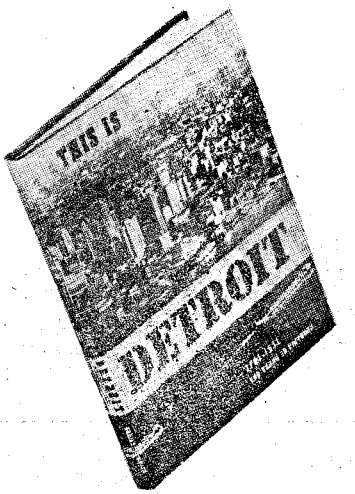
THE RAMAYANA. As Told by Aubrey Menen. Scribner's. $3.50. This wry and pointed retelling of the Ramayana—ancient Hindu classic—is a joy to read. Prince Rama's adventures are brilliant and frequently ribald comments on the human situation. While Aubrey Menen's ideas are uneven, his wit turns an epic of antiquity into a new gem; a delightful cross between "Candide" and "The Decameron."

THE BATTLE DONE. By S. Leonard Rubinstein. Morrow. $3.50. A novel of German P. O. W.'s in the United States, featuring the hard-boiled approach and machine-gun dialogue. The central situation is dramatic: a Jewish "intellectual" as non-com in control of German prisoners. This is a fast and readable book, although the story of the German P. O. W. in America has yet to be given full literary dimension.

THE SAGE OF CANUDOS. By Lucien Marchal. Translated from the French by Charles Duff. Dutton. $3.95. Lucien Marchal successfully recreates a fantastic nineteenth-century city-state in the backlands of Brazil. A surging novel, combining power, idealism, and courage with every possible bestiality, set in a locale of compelling interest.

SIDESTREET. By Robert O. Bowen. Knopf. $3. The horrendous female neurotic gets another treatment in Robert O. Bowen's new novel. Respectability, puritanism, and emotional frigidity are "exposed" in what has become a neo-traditional pattern. Bowen, however, does produce some sensitively underwritten work despite limited material.

THE LONG SHIPS. By Frans G. Bengtsson. Translated from the Swedish by Michael Meyer. Knopf. $4.50.



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THE ESCAPE OF SOCRATES. By Robert Pick. Knopf. $3.95. Robert Pick draws new meaning from the fate of Socrates. Demagogues lead the citizens of a troubled democracy to deny their own traditions and destroy a brilliant mind. A provocative book, despite a rather pedantic narrative.

WALKING ON BORROWED LAND. By William A. Owens. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.50. This story of Negroes in an Oklahoma community is far more effective than most examples of "problem" fiction. No simple prototypes here—of either race—but fully drawn human beings with the strength and weakness of humanity itself. A sensitive novel which sees hope as well as despair in the American Negro's struggle against bigotry.

STANLEY COOPERMAN

New Books in Brief

Jefferson in France

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Vol. IX: 1 November, 1785, to 22 June, 1786. Edited by Julian P. Boyd; Mina R. Bryan, Associate Editor. Princeton. $10.

The ninth volume of the "Papers" covers a short eight months of Jefferson's ministry to France and includes some five hundred-odd documents as well as notes on fifty-one others that either have disappeared or were not worth presenting in full. Two hundred and three come from Jefferson himself, the rest from his correspondents.

A comparison of this volume with the previous collections of Jefferson's writings for this period is an impressive index of the quantitative addition to Jeffersonian scholarship that is being made by the "Papers." Most of the new material, of course, consists of letters to Jefferson, and their interest and significance can hardly be exaggerated. The qualitative contribution made by the "Papers" is equally impressive. Here one sees Jefferson's career in as sharp focus as will ever be attainable. Perhaps the most comprehensive impression one receives from this volume is that of Jefferson's inextinguishable zeal and success in making himself useful to his country, to France, and to everyone, friend or stranger, who came within his orbit. During these months he made his one real visit to England, where what he remembered with most pleasure was the gardens, the one department of the arts in which, in his opinion, the English excelled. Charles Williamos, in whom the editors are interested beyond the strict line of duty, dies; and the unforgettable John Ledyard enters Jefferson's life. Needless to say, there is much else in these crowded pages.

Colum's Flowers

THE VEGETABLE KINGDOM. By Padraic Colum. Indiana. $2.75.

There is a cleavage in modern poetry that corresponds rather exactly to that between representational and abstract painting, and by now the Indiana University Poetry Series seems definitely to have aligned itself on the side of the representational. As Volume VI in the series, editor Samuel Yellen has issued Padraic Colum's book of flowers.

The joy of poetry is that every kind of excellence is possible: preconclude your attitudes and you immediately become an aesthetic fossil. One turns to Colum anticipating the excellences of simplicity. Fine. But one ends in the disappointment of having found more simplicity than excellence. At times, indeed, one wonders what Colum could have been thinking, as when he tells us that geraniums "Last but as long/As the red paint/Or whitewash coat/On door, on wall." Certainly there is no argument about the whitewash, but a coat of red paint that doesn't outlast a long series of geraniums is a poor coat of paint indeed.

The point would be picky were the example not symptomatic of a far-reaching let-down in the poet's principle of

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selection. The perceptions and connections Colum offers the reader seem too easy, generally, and too little examined. So we have little monologues from the flowers, or they are compared to the lips of ancient queens, or to nymphs, or to girls, until one begins wearily to foresee too much of the gesture of the poem.

It may well be precisely to the point that the two most successful pieces in this collection—Flowering Quince and Marigolds—are not about flowers at all but about the author's passionate recollection of time as suggested by flowers. At once the poems become, not valentines, but love letters to the world, and good ones. A capable book, but dull.

Impressionism in England

THE COURTAULD COLLECTION. A Catalogue and Introduction by Douglas Cooper, with a Memoir of Samuel Courtauld by Anthony Blunt. University of London. Distributed by John de Graff, New York. $15.

While this book might be described as a full-dress catalogue of a great collection, designed for libraries, scholars, and connoisseurs, its introductory essay has considerable general interest. It offers a detailed study of English taste in art from about 1870 to about 1920 and a reappraisal of the connections between England and the Impressionists. Samuel Courtauld collected Impressionists (Manet's Bar at the Folies Bergère) before he moved on to the post-Impressionists. The works he bequeathed to the Tate Gallery and the University of London, taken together with the criticism of Roger Fry, transformed English taste more profoundly than any other single influence.

In his introduction Douglas Cooper takes advantage of the opportunity to explore the effects of the several visits to London of Monet, Sisley, and Pissarro. It is usually supposed that the study these masters made of the water colors and oils of Constable, Turner, and Bonington (while they sat out the war of 1870 in London), were a powerful stimulus in the direction that came to be called Impressionism. Cooper denies this by pointing to the lack of real change in their work in the early seventies. He believes that if they had not come to England at all, their art would have evolved in the same way. In 1902, however, Pissarro wrote an English friend that "the water colors and paintings of Turner and of Constable, the canvases of Old Crome, have certainly had an influence upon us." Cooper quotes another passage of this letter but unaccountably omits this portion of it, which may be found in Rewald's "The History of Impressionism" (page 213).

Another turn of events that Cooper stresses is the lack of solid support of the Impressionists by Whistler, who was enthusiastic enough at first. Being too much the aesthete, he shied away from their "raw sensations."

On Nature Writers

W. H. HUDSON. By Ruth Tomalin. Philosophical Library. $3.50.

THOREAU. By William Condry. Philosophical Library. $3.50.

These two pleasant little books suggest the beginning of a series on "nature writers." Neither is much more than a hundred pages long, and both combine biography with an account of the subject's themes and style. Hudson proves to be as always somewhat elusive; Thoreau is crisp as he always is in competent hands. Perhaps the fact that the one liked to believe he had fulfilled himself, the other that he had somehow been frustrated, has something to do with the difference. Hudson always professed to believe that his life had been most meaningful during his youth in South America, to which nevertheless he chose never to return. Thoreau proclaimed exultingly that he had been born on the most fortunate spot on earth, and he never left it. For literary purposes at least Thoreau's "adjustment" was complete, Hudson's very imperfect; and therefore, perhaps, Thoreau had a gospel to preach, Hudson mostly only a memory to pursue. Both little books are very readable, although Miss Tomalin's seems less conclusive if only because her subject reached no conclusion.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

STRAUSS'S "Salome" has always seemed to me to contain his best operatic music, along with the dreadful Dance of the Seven Veils; and as late as last spring, on the occasions of the City Center production and the Columbia recording, I heard power and beauty achieved much of the time by the enormously complex writing, though I was aware also of moments of orchestral luxuriance out of control of artistic purpose or taste. But listening now to the new London recording I have heard much more that seemed to me tawdry, banal, and contrived, and very little that seemed to me powerful and beautiful. What remains most impressive—though it too has its bad moments—is the final scene.

The London recording offers a beautifully finished performance by the superb Vienna State Opera ensemble under Clemens Krauss. Christel Goltz, the Salome, also sang this part in the Oceanic recording and will sing it at the Metropolitan this season; the dramatic force of her singing is diminished somewhat by the tremulousness of her otherwise fine voice, but fortunately it is steadiest in the final scene. There is excellent singing by Hans Braun (Jochanaan), Margareta Kenney (Herodias), Anton Dermota (Narraboth), Ludwig Weber, and others; but the outstanding dramatic singing of the performance—amazing in what it achieves with an old voice—is Julius Patzak's as Herod. Krauss secures from the Vienna Philharmonic a beautiful realization of the orchestral part, and holds singers and or-

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chestra together in a well-integrated progression that is excellently reproduced. I recall Reiner's performance of the final scene with Welitch as beginning more slowly, and therefore with greater breadth and power, but as being reproduced with sound that lacked warmth and brightness.

A new Cetra recording of "La Traviata" has given me my first hearing of the young soprano Maria Callas who also will be singing at the Metropolitan this season. She turns out to have a remarkable gift of dramatic vocal utterance that projects the kind of power Danilova projected with her movements; and one thing remarkable about it is that the greatest power is projected by the subtle inflections of her quiet singing, in which her voice is most beautiful, rather than by the vehement singing in which the voice—either because of faulty production or because it is driven too hard—becomes strident. There is good singing by the tenor Francesco Albanese; the baritone of Ugo Savarese is a little rough. It is a singers' performance, in which the conductor, Gabriele Santini, merely follows as they lead—which is to say we hear nothing remotely like the shaping of a continuous progression that is the outstanding characteristic of the Toscanini performance.

CETRA also offers a similar "Rigoletto" conducted by Angelo Questa, with Lina Pagliughi, who sings with restored beauty of voice; Tagliavini, who produces ear-ravishing sounds in half-voice but less agreeable ones when he sings loud and high; Giuseppe Taddei (Rigoletto), who exhibits the power of his baritone even in passages that seem to me to call for delicacy; and Giulio Neri (Sparafucile), who does the same with his bass.

This seems a good point at which to speak of the Scala LP records with dubbings of acoustical recordings of the young Ponselle (803), the young Schipa (805), Emmy Destinn at various stages of her career (804), and Maria Barrientos (806), who was at the Metropolitan a few years from about 1917. Barrientos exhibits her lovely small voice, her agility and security in florid passages, and the liberties coloratura sopranos permitted themselves with the music they sang; and the record also offers unimpressive performances by the tenor Hipolito Lazaro. Barrientos has one duet with Riccardo Stracciari, whose impressive baritone is heard also on a record of his own (802). The surprise of the Destinn record is not the superb dramatic soprano of her later recordings, but the lovely lyric soprano of the recordings that I presume were made in her pre-1908 Berlin days—of arias from Meyerbeer's "Robert le diable" in German, of an aria from Dvorak's "Rusalka" also in German, of a Hummel "Hallelujah."

Schipa exhibits much the same fine light tenor and breath-taking style as in his electrical recordings a few years later—but the voice a little fresher and with a little more velvet, the style including occasional liberties in phrasing that his good taste was later to eliminate. As for Ponselle, the record gives us the unique sumptuous and luscious beauty of her voice in its first years that is reproduced by only very few of the electrical recordings reissued by RCA Victor (the arias from "La Vestale" are the ones I remember); but it gives us also evidence of her early deficiencies as a musician—the worst being her alterations of two phrases in the *Casta diva* from "Norma" to provide a couple of added high notes.

One of the arias on the Ponselle record is *Selva opaca* from Rossini's "William Tell," which moved Berlioz, in his great review of this opera, to observe correctly that "Rossini has . . . written few pieces as elegant, as fresh, as distinguished in their melody, and as ingenious in their modulations as this one." And noting in addition the writing for the orchestra, Berlioz exclaimed: "This is poetry, this is music, this is art—beautiful, noble, and pure, just as its votaries would have it always."

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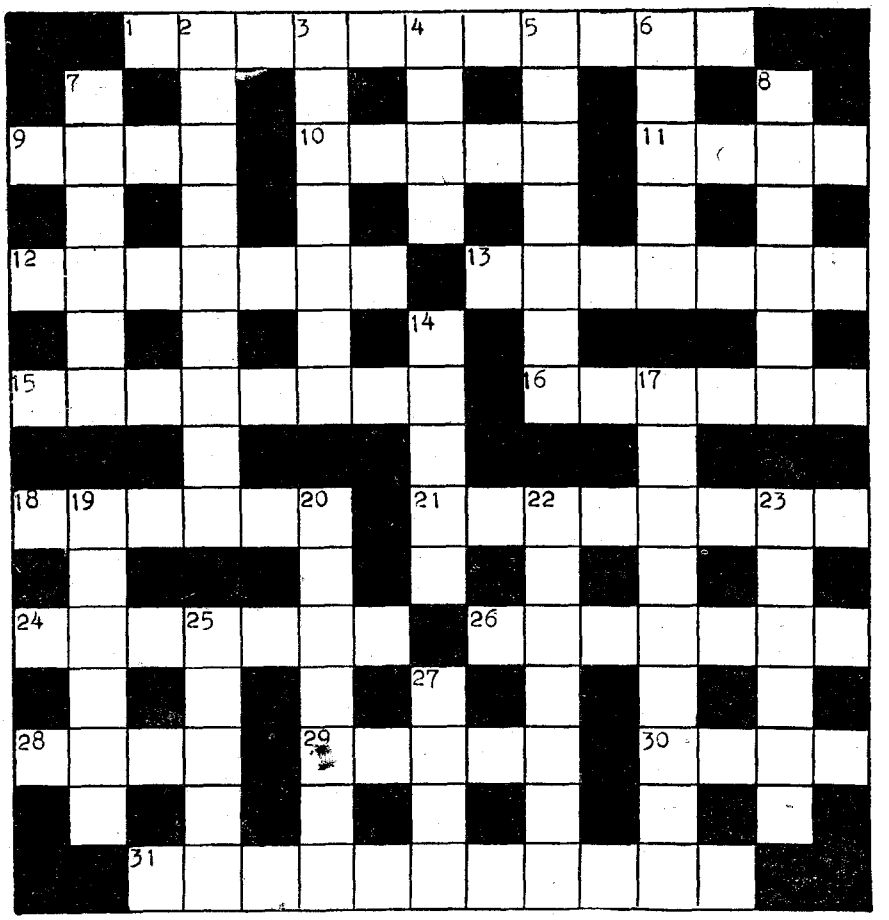
Crossword Puzzle No. 584

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 12 and 9. Sounds as though someone in the Merchant of Venice might be searching for French pastry! (4, 2, 5, 2, 5, 4)
10 See 11.
11, 10 and 29. Fowler's unrewarding pursuit suggests the banker's mad in more ways than one. (4, 5, 5)
12 See 1 across.
13 Sort of 14 found in the dilapidated red barn. (7)
15 Might it also be suitable for winter quarters, in an insipid sort of way? (4, 4)
16 Proper, yet not properly seated. (6)
18 This tree is somewhat more than a light wood. (6)
21 Only a sinecure would be so little disturbed by being exposed to danger. (8)
24 Helices. (7)
26 Quit 14, to a degree. (7)
28 and 5 down. They might sound like nurses, if shoemakers have one drawback. (4, 7)
29 See 11 across.
30 Right skinny, by the sound of it. (4)
31 Motorized, even Miss Conner has red associations. (11)

DOWN

2 Finish the synopses in the living room, perhaps. (9)
3 The Deacon's Masterpiece was built in this way. (7)
4 Obviously the wrong style for Esau! (4)
5 See 28 across.
6 Convey with an ash. (5)
7 A stair way to an awn. (6)
8 Red Article I is just out. (6)
14 It's an odd spot, certainly. (5)
17 Latched on to a prize for it, no doubt. (9)
19 Might seem to look like a paper. (6)
20 Bad account in more ways than one. (7)
22 Be opposite to what some of the fleet has to do. (7)
23 Complained about being tracked? (6)
25 Stick in the one with the chisel, perhaps. (5)
27 Pledge a piece of the board. (4)

• ● •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 583

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